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ABSTRACT

The paper explores the effects of industrialization on objectives and content of education for women. Three groups of women serve as examples--Jewish women who immigrated from unindustrialized areas of Europe to the growing industrial economy of early 20th century United States; Ghanaian women who function in a dual economy historically and currently; and Vietnamese women who immigrated from a non-industrial society to the advanced industrial United States in the 1970s. The authors hypothesized that with increasing industrialization, schools would attempt to increase occupational options of women. Data upon which analysis of educational experiences was based included literature on immigrant education, primary sources, exercises from textbooks used in English language classes, historical accounts, curriculum, and classroom observation. For each of the groups, information is presented on the women's roles in their own society and on typical experiences of the women as they participated in American schooling. Findings indicate that, contrary to expectations, schooling tended in all three cases to constrict rather than expand women's economic and social roles and to portray the role of housewife as the most desirable occupation. (DB)

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WOMEN, EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF JEWISH, GHANAIAN AND VIETNAMESE WOMEN

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Scholars have often argued that the roles for which a nation's schools prepare individuals are dependent largely upon that nation's level of industrialization. Studies have suggested that schools in highly industrialized societies prepare individuals for a wider range of occupational and social roles than do schools in either non-industrial or industrializing societies.[1] For the most part, however, such studies have focused on the education of men. There have been no studies on whether the education of girls follows the same pattern.

This paper focuses on the content of education for women. We wish to know whether level of industrialization affects the economic and social roles for which women are prepared. We will compare schooling for three groups of women: 1) Jewish women who immigrated to the United States in the early 20th century, 2) Ghanaian women, both historically and currently, and 3) Vietnamese women who arrived in the United States as immigrants in the 1970's.

The first case, that of early 20th century immigrant Jewish women represents an instance of women coming from unindustrialized areas of Europe and entering a society with a growing industrial economy; the second case is an example of women functioning in a dual economy, one which shows every sign of stagnation; and the third case, that of Vietnamese women, can be taken as typical of the entry of women from a non-industrial society into an advanced industrial economy. These three examples will be used to assess whether growing industrialization implies changes in educational content and preparation for broader economic and social roles for women.

Women in Industrializing Society

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, millions of women left non-industrial societies in Southern and Eastern Europe to immigrate to the United States. They arrived at a time when the American economy was becoming highly industrialized and when the American educational system was

also exhibiting large-scale expansion. Did education enlarge the economic and social roles available to immigrant women?

In this section, we focus upon one particular group, the East European Jews, whose experience was representative of many other early twentieth century immigrant women. Fleeing desperate economic conditions and fierce persecution, East European Jewish immigration was composed almost equally of women and men, as opposed to other immigrant groups that were predominantly male.[2] Jewish women came to the United States alone as well as within family groups, and represented the entire spectrum of their group in terms of age, class, and education.

Life for the majority of Jewish women in the small towns of Eastern Europe was governed by religious tradition.[3] Ideally, the Jewish man devoted most of his time to religious study. The traditional Jewish woman, therefore, frequently assumed responsibility not only for the complete management of home and children, but also for the financial support of the household. In doing so, she was honored for her strength, independence, and energy. Poverty often made this "ideal" situation impossible, however, so that frequently both husband and wife worked to provide the necessities of life. Jewish women were innkeepers, bakers, seamstresses, laundresses, midwives, agricultural laborers, shopkeepers, artisans, and peddlers, as much at home in the marketplace as in the kitchen.[4] The authority of the husband was, in theory, supreme. In practice, however, his wife had enormous power in day-to-day decision making. This power was supported not only by the division of labor that assigned most wordly matters to the woman while the man engaged in spiritual labor, but also by the very real economic importance of the woman as partial or total supporter of the household.

Not all Jewish women fit into this traditional pattern, however. By the

mid and late nineteenth century, secular thought was making itself felt in the traditional Jewish communities. The new secular philosophies of socialism and Zionism were spreading rapidly. Influenced by these innovations, a small but increasing number of young Jewish women espoused the ideal of sexual equality, attained secular, even professional education, and became leaders in movements for political and economic change.[5]

Coming from a culture that had long valued education for its men, many Jewish women took advantage of the educational opportunities they found in the United States. Children enrolled in the public schools and adults participated in educational programs provided by night schools and settlement houses. Thus, at all ages, Jewish women encountered educational programs specifically designed by American born educators to direct their entry into American life.

The voluminous literature on immigrant education states very clearly that programs for immigrant women were to be "social" rather than academic.[6] Suffragists pleaded the necessity of training immigrant women for intelligent citizenship and a few social workers (mainly women) such as Jane Addams, Sophonisba Breckenridge, and Grace Abbott hoped to use education to enhance the quality of life for the immigrant woman. Most educators, however, did not see education for immigrant women as a means of helping individuals pursue a wide range of personal, social, and economic goals. Rather, they saw it as a means of teaching women to perform what American educators defined as their only roles - keeping house and rearing children - in a style acceptable to middle class Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Public schools, settlement houses, churches, YWCA's, and other educational agencies sought to teach immigrant women English as well as an understanding of American manners, methods of housekeeping, and patterns of consumption. It was hoped that the women would "Americanize" the family and control the supposed tendencies of their husbands

toward labor radicalism and their children toward prostitution and delinquency.[7]

While educational programs for immigrant men and boys stressed a variety of crafts and trades, citizenship training, athletics, and clubs, parallel programs for women and girls usually stressed cooking, laundering, housecleaning, childcare, and hygiene.[8] Such instruction prepared women for only the most menial and traditionally feminine occupations such as domestic service, nursemaid, and commercial sewing. For the girl who mastered flawless English and who could afford to attend a high school or normal school, American education offered entry into two slightly more desirable, though also low paid and low status, occupations - office work and teaching.

The message implicit in education for immigrant women was that wage earning was at best a temporary expedient. The only really desirable career was housewifery, American style. Vocational training for girls, even in the few specialized vocational schools that admitted them, was focused on the "domestic arts."[9] English classes for women of all ages reinforced the message by teaching women the language appropriate only to the roles of wife, mother, and full time homemaker. A typical manual for night school Americanization teachers suggests the following English language exercise for male immigrants:

> "I wash my hands. I sharpen my pencil. I read a book. I come into the room. I go out of the room."

The parallel exercise for women read:

> "I wash my hands. I wash the dishes. I set the table. I sweep the floor. I dust the furniture." 10

In English classes, men learned to name the president of the United States, to locate City Hall, to file a complaint, and to apply for a job. Separate women's classes taught women to name kitchen utensils, to describe the making of an apron, to tell how they pack lunch for their husbands, and to read shopping signs such as BARGAIN SALE. Thus, while men were being prepared

at least verbally for a wide range of political and economic activity, women were being prepared for narrowly circumscribed social and economic roles.

The reaction of Jewish women to these programs varied. Undoubtedly, many women welcomed the opportunity to learn American methods of cooking and housekeeping and were eager to put into practice newly acquired consumer knowledge as soon as they could afford to do so. Yet this reaction was by no means universal. Irate immigrant parents in New York City, mostly Jewish, demonstrated in the streets to oppose the adoption of the non-academic Gary Plan in their public schools,[11] a plan which they saw as limiting the academic and professional aspirations of their sons and daughters.[12] Despite the emphasis of the educational system on marriage as the only respectable goal for women, many young Jewish women struggled to become teachers, though in many states, married women were forbidden to teach. Nor did immigrant women immediately accept the idea that wage earning was undesirable for women - an idea which, in any case, most did not have the economic luxury of accepting. Foreign born Jewish women worked outside the home in a wide variety of industrial and service occupations, for which on-the-job experience was usually a more valuable entry than schooling. Others worked closer to home, caring for boarders or sharing the management of a small business with their husbands. Smaller numbers practiced professions, wrote novels, produced plays, organized unions, or managed businesses of their own.

Obviously, American educational programs that focussed narrowly on domestic skills and household English did not meet all of the widely varied needs of East European Jewish women in the United States. Jewish women, like other immigrant women, found other ways to meet their educational needs. Through ethnic institutions such as newspapers, unions, theaters, libraries, women's clubs and selected settlement houses, Jewish women pursued political and cultural as well as domestic education. In the sweatshops of the garment

districts and in a variety of other industries, they pursued on-the-job vocational training.

The education offered to Jewish women in public schools, Americanization classes, and settlement houses was directed toward preparing them for full time domesticity. However, the expanding industrial economy allowed these women to diversify their roles in contradiction to the school's teaching. Immigrant women as young as 12 or 14 could and often did enter the work force directly, without educational credentials, thus bypassing the school and its socialization message. Further bypassing of the American educational system was possible because of the many formal and informal educational agencies available to Jewish women within their own communities.

The case of Jewish women raises two questions. First, is the fact that schools attempt to narrow social and economic options for women totally a function of industrialization? If so, then we should expect to find differences in educational content in non-industrial and industrializing societies. Second, is the attempt of schools to circumscribe women's options peculiar to early 20th century United States, or is it linked to the process of industrialization itself? If linked to industrialization, we should expect to find that schools limit options for girls in societies which are attempting to industrialize today. We will explore these issues by examining schools in Ghana during two time periods: non-industrial Gold Coast and Ghana in the 1970's.

Women in a Dual Economy

Ghanaian society differs from that of 20th century United States in that it represents a dual economy with most of the labor force still participating in traditional occupations such as farming, petty trading and fishing. Only 19 percent of Ghana's work force participates as wage laborers in the more

occupationally stratified industrial sector.[13] Close to 57 percent of those participating in the wage earning sector of the economy are employed in public institutions, either as civil servants or personnel in public corporations.[14] The relatively small private sector is controlled largely by Lebanese, Europeans and Americans. Unlike early 20th century United States, the Ghanaian economy shows little sign of economic growth. Indeed, by all indications, the Ghanaian economy is stagnant and the industrial sector thus shows little promise of absorbing the non-industrial sector.[15]

Differing roles for women exist in the sectors. Women in the non-industrial sector work for a living. They are expected to be self supporting and to contribute equally to the maintenance of the extended family. This is no less true today than it was 100 years ago. Ghana was and is what Boserup terms a "female farming area."[16] Most farm labor is done either by women alone, husbands and wives together, or extended family groupings. Men are assigned certain tasks such as making yam mounds or felling trees, while women do the planting, weeding, and harvesting. In addition to cooking and housework, women haul fuel and water and process staple foods such as yam or millet. The husband is obliged to provide his wife or wives with farm land and the capital necessary to start trading. Surplus crops are her own to sell and profits from the sale of these crops and any food she prepares remain her personal property.[17]

In the political sphere, women play important roles as members of ruling families. The king's or chief's mother exercises significant power and some wives have succeeded their husbands as chiefs. Although men are traditionally the warriors, women have taken up arms and fought alongside their husbands.[18] Thus, in the non-industrial sector, women have well-defined roles and power in both economic and political life. Such roles were never contingent on access to formal education.

The coming of the West in the form of trading companies, missionary education and finally the colonial administration itself served to re-define women's position vis a vis men in that sector of the economy which emerged as a result of Western imperialism. Western penetration was accompanied by the introduction of an alternative occupational and economic structure.[19] Formal education was the means by which individuals gained access to this sector of the economy. In retrospect, of course, those persons who attended missionary or government schools were the recipients of power in the sector of the economy that was to industrialize. This sector became increasingly prestigious and desirable as the years went on. It is for this reason that the colonizer's orientation toward women and the proper kind of education for girls is important. Significantly, the spread of missionary education and finally political annexation took place during Victorian England.

In contrast to Ghanaian traditions, the ideal Victorian woman was totally dependent on the economic position of her father and later her husband. If she had to work, the appropriate sphere was charity; she was not to take any form of work that would rival her husband's position as head of the family. The Victorian woman

> combined total sexual innocence, conspicuous consumption and the worship of the family hearth.... All her education was to bring out her 'natural' submission to authority and innate maternal instincts. Young ladies were trained to have no opinions whatsoever lest they seem too formed and too definite for a young man's taste and thereby unmarketable as a commodity. 20

Given the time period, this was the model of womanhood that was exported to the colonies and embedded within the institutional matrix that accompanied western arrival.

From the very beginning then, girls' education in Ghana was for the express purpose of taking women out of economic life and training them in the European mold to be wives and mistresses for the resident merchants and

wives for male Ghanaians who were trained as clerks. Not only were girls educated less often than boys, but the type of education that they received was markedly different. In 1821, for example, Mrs. Harriet Jarvis, widow of an officer of the Royal African Company, opened the first girls school and taught mainly needlework. Correspondence between Governor Smith and Mrs. Jarvis indicates the emphasis that was placed on domesticity. Some of the items she ordered from England are:

12 pair scissors
1 lb. cotton in Ball
1 lb. cotton in Hanks
1 lb. cotton in Darning
200 darning needles
800 Queens' needles
12 silver thimbles 21

In 1822, the British administration provided the following items for a different girls' school:

6 dozen straw bonnets
12 dozen pairs of shoes (of different sizes)
12 dozen pairs of socks
6 pieces pocket handkerchiefs
12 dozen pieces of cloth for frocks
1 dozen straw bonnets superior for Sunday attendance 22

The boys in the meantime were being taught to read and write English and do simple mathematics so that they could become clerks in the resident merchant companies. Later, of course, they were allocated to low and middle level civil servant positions in the colonial administration.

The period 1850-1900 saw increased interest in the education of girls. During this period, many of the boys' boarding schools were turning toward more "practical" subjects such as agriculture and vocational training. The girls, however, even though traditionally as much apart of economic life as the boys, continued to receive needlework and other aspects of "housewifery". This is clear in the report submitted by the Education Committee of the Privy Council to the Colonial Office in 1847. After bemoaning the "bookish"

nature of African education, the Committee offered a series of suggestions regarding the structure and organization of schools. After completing elementary school, selected students were to go to "Day Schools of Industry". Boys were to be organized into working parties connected with trades, agriculture and gardening, while girls were to be instructed in all practical branches of domesticity. The general aim was the development of "habits of steady industry" leading to a "settled and thriving peasantry".[23] The men were to till the land; the women were to cook and sew.

Although the education committee had little direct impact, the ideas presented were shared by those who had the power to implement change. John Wesley, head of the Wesleyan Church that established one of the first girls' boarding schools in the late 1800's, for example, believed that girls should be trained in a private school kept by a pious man or woman. Wesley's school was modeled on schools for middle class girls in England, where the "accomplishments" were the core of a girl's education, "where performance on the piano or harp or drawing and painting were diligently practiced together with a host or ornamental skills which could be effectively performed in the restricted life of the drawing room, and where the girl was to be brought up almost solely to shine on the social occasion."[24] Needlework, dressmaking, fancy-work and crochet thus were among the core curricular subjects for girls.

The effect of female education so defined was to circumscribe women's economic options in the industrialized sector of what now constitutes Ghana's dual economy. Like early 20th century schools in the United States, schools in the former Gold Coast functioned for the express purpose of removing women from economic life and re-socializing them for consumptive domesticity.

One might ask, however, whether with increasing industrialization, schools attempted to increase the occupational options of women as mainstream sociology would suggest. From all indications, the content of education for

women did not change. Masemann, for example, in her recent study of a girls' secondary boarding school, concludes that the "hidden curriculum" of what she calls Ghana Girls' School functions mainly to prepare girls for marriage to a man of relatively high socio-economic status.[25] Little suggests that

> Such a man requires a wife who knows enough about modern taste to furnish and decorate his home in up-to-date style. He wants a girl who is at ease in society and knows how to entertain his guests and impress with her Western sophistication his own social superiors... Moreover, such men are ambitious for their children and wish them to be suitably reared. This is facilitated if their mother understands modern practices of child welfare. She should also be capable of checking their homework. 26

Through both the celebrated and unnoticed or "hidden" curriculum, Ghanaian girls learn how to play the "modern" marital and parental roles described above. In addition to academic subjects, girls are required to take courses in Needlecraft, Cookery and Home Management. The Housecraft courses are taught in a separate building which is equipped with modern household appliances. In this way, the students learn to operate machinery such as refrigerators, electric and gas stoves, and washing machines, which are found in the homes of only the highly educated elite. They also learn to cut out European style dresses with the use of a pattern, to scallop edges, produce fancy English cakes and biscuits, be a good hostess, and run a European style household. Since the students practice these skills by tending to the houses of staff members, they become very familiar with the physical arrangement of homes designed to facilitate Western living.[27]

Although much of the formal curriculum contains subject matter that leads to formal accreditation, the students learn much more than the principles embodied in the official syllabus. The messages transmitted through schools regarding woman's place in the industrialized sector do not differ appreciably from those transmitted in the late 1800's. Woman's role is still largely consumptive and there are few sanctioned occupational options in the stratified

industrial economy. This is not to suggest that educated women necessarily accept this role in its totality, but rather to argue that the content of education for girls has remained constant.

In the case of Ghana, the dual nature of the economy has enabled women to retain some or all of their traditional economic and social independence. Although schools attempt to teach consumptive domesticity and thus undermine women's traditional power, the nature of the economy itself encourages the vast majority of women to remain in the non-industrial sector and thus retain economic and social roles traditionally held by Ghanaian women. Even if they attend secondary school, women can later engage in economic activities such as dressmaking or trading which are traditionally acceptable, although not as prestigious as the occupations more generally available to educated men. In the dual economy then, schools function much as they did for immigrant Jewish women. Although the schools attempt to teach domesticity, the nature of the economy allows women to bypass the allocative function of the school and retain some of their traditional role options.

Is the fact that schools in Ghana attempt to narrow roles for women totally a function of the stagnant industrial sector? If they are not, then we should expect that once industrialization occurs, the schools messages change and occupational options broaden. To test this, we will examine the case of Vietnamese immigrants in the 1970's. Although similar to the other two groups of women in that they came from a non-industrial society, the case of the Vietnamese is different in that they entered the highly industrialized United States. It is to this example that we now turn.

Women Entering Highly Industrialized Society

Vietnamese, when they came to the United States in the mid 1970's represented the movement of individuals from a non-industrial society into an

advanced industrial society in which education was not only universal, compulsory and free, but also tied closely into occupational hierarchies. If industrialization, when accomplished, were to lead to providing more options for women in occupational and social roles as the literature on industrialization implies, we would expect to find schools providing many options for women and preparing them for a variety of roles within the workplace and the family. If the schools do not, then we may be able to argue that industrialization is not necessarily key to expanding women's social and economic options.

This section of the article deals with the education of Vietnamese immigrants and is based on extensive classroom observations and curricular analyses carried out in a refugee holding center in 1975. We will deal first with Vietnamese women's roles in their own society and then with the school's preparation of these women to enter an industrial society.

Of the 125,000 Vietnamese who entered the United States in 1975, close to half were women. Most of these women, in the age range 18 to 65 years of age, had been gainfully employed in Vietnam (only 14 percent reported their occupations as "housewife").[28] Their role in the Vietnamese work force was diversified, reflecting the dual nature of Third World economies - many had been engaged in traditional occupations like farming, petty trade and fishing. This was the case also for women who left rural Vietnam and migrated to the cities in the past 20 years of warfare.[29] Others had been involved in the war economy, working for U. S. corporations, the U. S. government, and in the black market; several ran small knitting factories. For urban and rural Vietnamese women alike, the nature of the war had allowed them to diversify their occupations if only because men were occupied fighting the war. Also, an inordinate number of women became heads of households as the war took its toll on the military.[30] Regardless of class, these immigrant women's

lives were such that they expected to work at a variety of jobs outside the home in the United States.

While these women's roles in Vietnam pointed to their entry into the American work force, schooling in the United States did not. This can perhaps be best illustrated by looking at adult education programs that were designed specifically for Vietnamese immigrants and were offered at the refugee camps. These programs were perceived by Americans as essential preparation for entry into the work force and were announced as such. When classes began in June, 1975, Vietnamese - both women and children - flocked to them, causing severe overcrowding and instructional difficulties. Rather than expanding the number of classes, American officials decided to limit attendance to males, who they assumed, would be the only individuals to obtain employment. In addition, several school officials argued that women's presence in the class - and perhaps their quicker linguistic abilities- would undermine men's supposed position of authority within the family.[31] For three months, women were denied instruction, gaining access to class at one camp only when a state women's commission threatened a sex discrimination suit.[32]

While it could be argued that eventual access for women to the English language widened their options to enter the work force and diversify their roles outside the household, a careful look at the content and conduct of instruction indicates that schools had no intention of doing this.

Two types of curricular materials were used in teaching English to Vietnamese. The HEW-developed Survival English course and, as a supplement, the MacMillan 900 English language texts. The Survival English course, taught at three levels, had 16 lessons that covered topics (in the order presented) that included Meeting Strangers, Finding a Place to Live, Occupations, Renting Apartments, Shopping, John's Interest and Applying for Jobs.[33] The first lesson began with greetings and sex identifications. Students

drilled on phrases such as "Hello," "Good afternoon," "My name is....," "I'm a man," "I'm a woman."[34] "I'm a boy," "I'm a girl." "Do you speak English?" Subsequent vocabulary taught locations of lavatories, days of the week, numbers, food, time, parts of the body, job titles. Once vocabulary was introduced as words in isolation lessons centered on pattern sentences and conversations. In all but two of the 16 lessons, the conversations took place between a mythical "Mr. Brown" and "Mr. Jones", with Mr. Brown responding to Mr. Jones' questions. For example, Mr. Jones (no doubt the refugee) inquired in the lesson on numbers how he might go about buying a house. to support his wife and two children. Mr. Brown said he could work as a room clerk, salesman, cashier, laborer, plumber, bricklayer, cook, cleaning person, secretary, typist, seamstress, nurses' aide. Several of these occupations that were proposed for Vietnamese men were, in fact, occupations usually reserved for American women. Women appeared in the dialogues only in two instances: in a lesson on budgeting and shopping and in a lesson called "conversation." Both are explicit in delineating roles men and women were expected to fill. In the conversation, Miss Jones becomes part of the drill in two places - with the pattern sentence, "Miss Jones missed the bus to the Miss Universe competition," and "She is an attractive girl."[35] In the shopping sequences, all levels of English classes made it clear that women could shop only for small items. In the basic classes teaching persons who knew no English, Mrs. Brown shopped for dresses, shoes, food, aspirins, baby needs, and cosmetics; Mr. Brown, on the other hand, shopped for shirts, houses, cars, and furniture.[36] In the advanced classes this division was expanded upon. "Marie" compared prices of food and other commodities, thereby saving her husband his hard earned money. She was wise and would buy nothing but food without consulting her husband, Tim. In the lesson, she

found out where the cheapest sofa and sewing machine in town could be bought, but took her husband to the stores to decide for them where they should make their purchases.[37]

The MacMillan English Language 900 Series, used as a supplement to the Survival English course, was not written specifically for Vietnamese refugees. It is a series of texts designed for non-English speakers, be they Italian, Arab, Chinese, German or French. These texts, interestingly enough are quite different from the materials devised specifically for Vietnamese. Women are not absent in the texts, nor so inactive. They travel, they work, go to the doctor, shop, ask questions, etc., despite the fact that the roles portrayed for women are quite limited. In lesson one, Book Three, for intermediate students, for example, Judy talks with John about buying a new sofa, not because it's needed, but because it's pretty and a bargain.[38] In Unit 2, Barbara and Ella talk about baking a cake for Harry while Frank and Tom discuss hammers and nails;[39] in Unit 4, marriage is discussed as are bridal dresses;[40] in Unit 5, Mr. James buys a house and Mabel has coffee klatches with her new neighbors;[41] in Unit 8, on health and sickness, Dr. Smith and his female nurse give Mrs. Adams advice on her children's health and Mr. Lewis advice on his own health;[42] in Unit 9, mother puts kids to bed and wakes them up while father goes off to work.[43] Designed primarily to teach English, the readers tended to focus less on sex role depictions than on teaching first and second person patterns of speech. "I," "You" is more apparent in the text than "He-She."

The curricular materials used in teaching Vietnamese the English language emphasized a strict division of labor between the sexes, preparing Vietnamese women not for the work force but for narrow social roles. In many course materials, women simply did not exist. When they entered the texts, their roles were depicted solely as that of wife, mother, and shopper. It is

interesting to note that in the Survival English course, designed specifically for Vietnamese refugees, occupations for men often were those usually reserved for American women: Vietnamese men were presented as qualified to become typists, seamstresses, or nurses aides. Further, many roles that American women assume (shopping, finding doctors, etc.) were presented as roles for Vietnamese men. It is Mr. Jones in the Survival English course, who finds out where stores are, gets a doctor, selects a church, locates the children's school, etc. In the Survival English materials, women ventured out of the house only to shop.

The teaching materials were not the only elements in formal English instruction that attempted to channel Vietnamese women into mother/housewife occupations. Teacher/student interaction in class worked similarly. An incident in an English class designed for illiterates illustrates this best. This class had more women in it than any other class at one refugee holding center. (The other classes appeared to be predominantly male; advanced English classes had almost no women in them.) Because the students were illiterate, written materials could not be used. The six-week course had but three units: 1) parts of the body and their names; 2) foods; 3) jobs. All this was constructed by the teachers with the assistance of the curriculum coordinator. Vocabulary was introduced by pointing to an object or a picture of it and learning the English name for it. When pictures of objects were not available, charade was used. In one class, the teacher clucked and flapped his arms like a chicken to introduce the term "chicken." He then drilled the class on the phrase, "I want some chicken to eat."[44]

The major emphasis in the classroom was on occupations - teaching Vietnamese how to describe their work skills to prospective employers. In several classes, the teacher began with the phrase, "What kind of work do you do?" He then drew stick figures showing different kinds of work - ditch

digging, selling, etc., naming them all. After introducing phrases like "I am a ditch digger, I am a mechanic," he asked each of his thirty or more students, "What kind of work do you do?" The first student to respond was a young man, obviously a former soldier. He responded by imitating a gun with his fingers and replied, "I rat-a-tat-tat." The teacher corrected him with, "I work with my hands." Next to recite was a middle-aged woman, who had lacquered teeth (indicating she came from a rural lower class family). She made a motion that looked like casting nets (she came from coastal Vung-Tau and fished for a living). The teacher retorted with, "I am a housewife." The woman looked puzzled. The teacher then drew a stick figure on the blackboard representing a woman with a broom in her hand inside of a house. He repeated "I am a housewife," pointing to the woman. She and the women sitting with her began a lively discussion in Vietnamese and started laughing. The teacher then drilled all the women as a group repeatedly with the phrase "I am a housewife."[45]

Formalized education, in short, even in a highly industrialized society did not attempt to diversify women's roles and options. Rather, it attempted to narrow them in much the same way as education had in both the case of industrializing U. S. in the early 20th century and in transitional societies like Ghana. Unlike the cases of Ghana and early 20th century U. S., however, Vietnamese women had few options to circumvent the allocative role of education. In Ghana, women had the choice of remaining in traditional society, maintaining a strong degree of independence and position within social and economic structures, although admittedly possessing less potential for wealth and power in national terms. In early 20th century America, schooling was not the only route into the occupational structure and state control of education was not as pervasive as it is in contemporary America. Early immigrant women could bypass the school's socialization efforts and still not be

deprived of all opportunity to enter the workforce.

Vietnamese women immigrants faced an entirely different situation. The occupational diversification associated with the process of industrialization had, in fact, ended in advanced industrialization except in the expansion of lower level unskilled labor. The schools accordingly channeled Vietnamese women out of the work place; meanwhile, they allocated Vietnamese men into roles on the lowest ends of the occupational structure. The pay off for the men was the reproduction of western-style male dominance within the household.

The options Vietnamese women had to resist the allocative pressures of education were limited. Schooling and the knowledge of English and the sex role allocation it implies, were prerequisite to entering the U. S. economy. Women could choose not to attend class, but the consequence was the same as attending - entrapment in the household or menial labor. Unlike their earlier immigrant sisters, Vietnamese women could not bypass schooling; unlike their Ghanaian peers, they could not retain traditional power and privilege by remaining in the non-industrial sector of a dual economy.

Conclusions

Our analysis has focused on the nature of schooling for three groups of women - Jewish immigrants in early 20th century United States; Ghanaian women, both historically and currently; and Vietnamese women who came as immigrants to the United States in the early 1970's. We have found, contrary to expectations, that the content of schooling does not vary by level of industrialization.

The educational messages to women in all three cases were almost identical. All tended to constrict rather than expand women's economic and social roles. On the one hand, the schools tried to foster women's roles

as confined to family life. The definition of the role within the family was such that women were expected to be subordinate to their husbands and function as consumers, housewives, and mothers within a nuclear family setting. The schools did not encourage the participation of women in the work force. By not preparing women for work force participation, ultimately they allocated women into the ranks of unskilled and low level service employment. The schools did not openly advocate such roles for women, but by virtue of what they did not teach, they nonetheless fostered them. In all cases, schools portrayed the role of the housewife as the most desirable occupation a woman could hope to attain.

Our findings question the literature which presupposes that industrialization implies increased role options for both men and women. In contradiction with mainstream sociology, our data suggest that economic and social options for women narrow as industrialization proceeds. Indeed, it appears that the maintenance of patriarchical relations functions independently of industrialization. This is reflected in the unchanging content of schooling for women.

Others have suggested through the study of work force statistics that the spread of industrialization has not led to increased options in economic and social life for women. They have attributed it to capitalist forms of industrialization, suggesting that if industrialization proceeded along socialist lines, the limitation of women's roles would not occur.[46] Before one can make this argument, however, one would need to compare the role of women in both socialist and non-socialist economies at varying levels of industrialization, in addition to asking whether the nature of schooling for women under socialism and capitalism varies. Although several studies have suggested that there may be differences in women's work force participation in socialist and capitalist economies, we have no parallel studies to this

one that explore the role that education plays in the widening or constricting of women's roles and options. One might ask for instance, whether the content of education for women in places like Cuba, China, Tanzania and the Soviet Union differs appreciably from that discussed here. In this way, we would be able to ascertain whether the process of education as described in this article is totally a function of capitalist industrialization, or whether other forms of social and economic organization and their schools limit choices for women as well.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, George Z. F. Bereday, "Social Stratification and Education in Industrial Countries," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, Nos. 2/3 (June/October 1977) pp. 95-210; Philip Foster, "Education and Social Differentiation in Less Developed Countries," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, Nos. 2/3 (June/October 1977) pp. 211-29; William H. Friedland, "A Sociological Approach to Modernization," in Morse et al., Modernization by Design: Social Change in the Twentieth Century (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1969) pp. 34-84.

2. Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, New York, 1976, 58.

3. Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, Life is With People: The Culture of the Shtetl (Shocken, New York, 1952) passim.

4. Charlotte Baum, "What Made Yetta Work? The Economic Role of Eastern European Jewish Women in the Family." Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review, No. 18 (Summer 1973), pp. 32-34.

5. Charlotte Baum, Paula Hyman, and Sonya Michel, The Jewish Woman in America, (New York: New American Library, 1975), pp. 71-74.

6. For examples of this literature, see William Sharlip and Albert A. Owens, Adult Immigrant Education, (New York: MacMillan, 1928); Second Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California (San Francisco: California State Printing Office, 1916); and L. R. Alderman, Helps for Teachers of Adult Immigrants and Native Illiterates, Department of Interior, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin 27 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928) pp. 35-36; and Robert A. Woods, Americans in Progress, (New York: Riverside Press, 1903).

7. Sharlip and Owens, ibid., pp. 192-197, and Pearl Idelia Ellis, Americanization Through Homemaking (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company, 1929), pp. 14-15 and 30-31.

8. Albert Kennedy and Robert Woods, Handbook of Settlements (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1911), passim.

9. Willystine Goodsell, The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its Problems (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923), p. 209.

10. Frederick Houghton, Immigrant Education: A Handbook Prepared for the Board of Education (Buffalo, 1927), pp. 7-13.

11. Diane Ravitch, The Great School Wars, New York City 1805-1973 (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 223-228.

12. Ibid.

13. Data Book on Manpower Resources in Ghana (Volume I), Manpower Division, Ministry of Economic Planning, 1974. Table A-50.

14. Data Book, Table A-60.

15. Since 1960, the distribution of occupations has remained virtually unchanged. The professional and technical sectors, for example, has grown just over 1 percent and the farming and fishing sector has contracted by 3 percent. Data Book, Table A-49.

16. For an excellent discussion of Sub-Saharan African economies, see Esther Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970).

17. With increasing urbanization, female trading in conjunction with farming or female trading in and of itself became more widespread. In Koforidua, for example, some 70 percent of adult women engage in trading. Some of these women have credits of thousands of pounds sterling and act as intermediaries to other women retailers. See D. McCall, "Trade and the Role of Wife in a Modern West African Town," in Aidan Southall, ed., Social Change in Modern Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 286-299. For further discussion of the role of women in the non-industrial sector, see Judith Van Allen, "Modernization Means More Dependency," The Center Magazine (May/June 1974), pp. 60-67 and Denise Paulme, ed., Women of Tropical Africa (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1963).

18. A famous instance is that of Yaa Asantewa, Queen Mother of Ashanti, who led her people against the British in the last Anglo-Ashanti War (1900-1901).

19. Philip Foster widely documents the emergence of the sector that later industrialized. See Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

20. Martha Vicinus, ed., Suffer and Be Still (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, 1972), pp. ix-x.

21. As cited in C. K. Graham, The History of Education in Ghana (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1971), p. 72.

22. Graham, p. 73.

23. Foster, pp. 55-56.

24. Graham, p. 132.

25. Vandra Masemann, "The 'Hidden Curriculum' of a West African Girls' Boarding School," The Canadian Journal of Africal Studies VIII, 3 (1974) pp. 479-494.

26. Kenneth Little, "Voluntary Associations and Social Mobility Among West African Women," Canadian Journal of African Studies 6, 2 (1972), p. 277, as cited in Masemann, p. 483.

27. Masemann, pp. 484-485.

28. Interagency Task Force on Indochinese Refugees, Report to the Congress, December 15, 1975, p. 13.

29. Arlene Eisen Bergman, Women of Vietnam (San Francisco: People's Press, 1974); Vietnamese Immigration Collection, SUNY/Buffalo Archives, Tapes #42, 32, 33, 73, 74, 75, 78. The Vietnamese Immigration Collection tapes contain interviews with teachers, camp officials, and immigrants as well as recordings of

classroom instruction.

30. Interagency Task Force on Indochinese Refugees, Report to the Congress, December 15, 1975, p. 13.

31. Vietnamese Immigration Collection, SUNY/Buffalo Archives, Tapes 9, 29, 10, and 30.

32. Vietnamese Immigration Collection, SUNY/Buffalo Archives, Tape #30.

33. Survival English (developed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.) A copy of the course curriculum can be found in the Vietnamese Immigration Collection, SUNY/Buffalo Archives, Box 3.

34. Ibid.

35. Survival English; Level II, Intermediate, Lesson 4, p. 4.

36. Survival English, Level I, Unit 4, Lessons 3 and 4.

37. Survival English, Advanced Class, Unit 5, "How to Stretch Your Budget."

38. English Language Services, Inc., English 900, Books 1-3 (New York: Collier MacMillan, Inc. 1975, 16th edition) Book 3, p. 8.

39. Ibid., p. 19.

40. Ibid., p. 42.

41. Ibid., p. 58.

42. Ibid., pp. 77-86.

43. Ibid., p. 93.

44. Vietnamese Immigration Collection, SUNY/Buffalo Archives, Tape #30.

45. Ibid.

46. See Elsa Chaney and Marianne Schmink, "Women and Modernization: Access to Tools" in June Nash and Helen I. Saja, Sex and Class in Latin America (New York: Praeger, 1975), pp. 160-182; Norma S. Chinchilla, "Industrialization, Monopoly Capitalism and Women's Work in Guatemala," Signs, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1977), pp. 38-66; Glaura Vasqueses de Miranda, "Women's Labor Force Participation in Developing Society," Signs, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1977), pp. 261-274; Remi Clignet, "Social Change and Sexual Differentiation in the Camerouns and the Ivory Coast," Signs, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1977), pp. 244-260; Nadia Haggag Yousseff, Women and Work in Developing Societies (Berkeley: University of California Institute of International Studies, 1974).